UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

John Haynes Holmes, *Editor in Chief*

Associate Editors

Francis Neilson Louis L. Mann Curtis W. Reese

The American Presidency

By JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

American Notes

By SYDNEY STRONG

The Passing of the Old-Time Preacher

By FRANK S. HARWOOD

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Editors:

John Haynes Holmes **Francis Neilson**
Curtis W. Reese **Louis L. Mann**

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Contents

EDITORIAL— Page
Notes 391
The American Presidency—JOHN HAYNES HOLMES 394
Jottings—J. H. H. 395
Editorial Correspondence: American Notes—SYDNEY STRONG 396

ARTICLES—
The Passing of the Old-Time Preacher—FRANK S. HARWOOD 397
Gandhi and Tolstoy—*Animesh Chandra Ray Choudhury* 398

POETRY—
Greetings to America—KWEI CHEN 391
Lyric—FRANCES RAYE PAINE 400

THE STUDY TABLE—
The Russian Famine—JOHN HAYNES HOLMES 401
A Biography of Heine—M. CARL BECK 401
A Novel of South Africa—MARY WHITE OVINGTON 401

CORRESPONDENCE—
Louis F. Post—CHESTER C. PLATT 402
The Big Navy Program—ORLIE PELL 402
The League of Nations, Imperialism, and Peace—FRANK W. GARRISON 402
An Original Subscriber—FRED K. GILLETTE 403

THE FIELD—
Fiftieth Anniversary Issue 403
International Fellowship of Reconciliation—News Sheet 403

UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME C MONDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1928 NUMBER 25

Greetings to America

[*By a Citizen of China*]

America, O America!
Years ago, from his grade-school text, a boy knew you.
You were the home of three men,
Lincoln, Franklin, Washington,—
Your Savior, your Sage, your Father.

Some time later, incidentally he caught the name of Longfellow.
"Longfellow is the great poet of America today,"—
So told him his teacher,—
"In the reading of whose Evangeline I wept . . . "
"There was another great American poet," his teacher continued,
"Who sang the Female equally with the Male,
Who was also a truly democratic man, a commoner's son,
His name is Walt Whitman."

"The Country of the Beautiful indeed deserves her name,"
The boy hastily said to himself.

Some years later, then a high school boy, he read the morning paper.
A man by the name of Wilson, leading his nation, declared war,
"To Make the World safer for democracy."

The boy was puzzled by the big word.
Soon everyone in the school—
Teachers, students, janitors, gardeners, cooks,—
Talked and talked, about the man and the puzzling word.

Soon he seemed half to have understood the word,
But he dared not tell others that he only half understood—
Such a word, so commonly and readily voiced by so many mouths.
He waited patiently another year to learn more about it.

Suddenly one day, thunder roared in a clear sky.
The metropolitan papers announced the arrival of a man,
John Dewey by name, teacher by profession, to lecture on "What is Democracy?"

He, then a college freshman, became excited, exceedingly excited.
With many of his schoolmates he followed very carefully
Wherever and whenever this Teacher was to lecture.
He read and studied all the lectures, neglecting to eat and sleep.

On Sunday afternoons, in the evenings after dinner,
With two or three of his friends the boy talked, discussed,
Discussed the lectures, discussed the questions raised in their hearts.
At the end they cried out, all as in one tone:
"Why have the teachers in this college never uttered a word
In the nature like Dewey's? They have deceived us!"

Having examined, compared, pondered,
The boy could no longer endure being cheated.
He decided to set out himself as a pilgrim to the land
Where the Puritans had lived and died,
Where Lincoln and Washington were born and buried,
Where Whitman, Emerson, Longfellow, dreamed and sang,
Where there were teachers like Dewey, presidents like Wilson,
Where Democracy was in experiment.

But alas! the boy came too late!
Fifty years ago Lincoln was assassinated;
All the others had died.
Excepting a few teachers of Dewey's type,

Still fatefully crying out:
"The Nation conceived in Liberty and dedicated to Equality must by all means live!"—
Still I greet you, O America,
I greet you, the New World!
With scent of my heart, with wine of my tears, I greet you!
Your infant sister of the East is striving beside you,
Live, America!

KWEI CHEN.

Our heart goes out to the little peoples of the world—for two reasons! First, of course, because of the indignities, oppressions and miseries which they have suffered, and still suffer, at the hands of the great and powerful. Think of the Irish, for example! Is there any story in history which matches theirs for sheer tragedy and horror? Yes, there *are* such stories; but they are always those of peoples like the Irish who have battled heroically and often vainly against outrage and death by the sword of the strong. No nation seems to feel really great unless it has some sister nation, which is helpless because weak, dragging in the chains of slavery at her bloody chariot-wheel. England has always thus bedecked her triumphal car of empire. For centuries her victims were Scotland and Wales; then Ireland became her sweated serf; now India holds the place of misery. But England is not alone; America, grown great, celebrates her imperial advent by seizing Porto Rico, the Philippines, Haiti, Nicaragua, for her use and glory. But there is a second reason why our heart goes out in pity of the weaker peoples of the earth. We refer to their own dissensions, the struggles of their sects and parties, which makes easy the imperial maxim of "divide and rule." Scotland was usually at England's feet because of the civil wars among her brawling barons. Ireland to this day is rent by internal strife—Ulster against the Free State, De Valera against Cosgrave. Nicaragua opens the door

to American intervention by the bloody feud between conservatives and liberals. And the people are not to blame! In small states as in large, the common folk are the helpless victims of the rival political and economic interests that are struggling for profitable control of government. So it is oppression from without and dissension from within, with the people always paying the bill in the currency of blood and tears. When one contemplates this tragedy of time, one is tempted to envy Russia which has found the way of ending both these evils. The outside interventionist is not allowed to get in; the inside factionalist is not allowed to stay in!

"How much of armament a country needs," says the Newark (N. J.) *Evening News,* "depends largely upon its policies." Exactly! This sentence contains as much truth as we have ever seen packed away in as many words. If a nation is pursuing a policy of expansion, aggression, imperialistic exploitation and advancement, it needs great armaments, especially a great navy, be sure of that. Conversely, if a nation builds up armies and navies on a vast scale, and insists always upon extending and enlarging them, you can be certain that it is pursuing political designs which it knows, or at least suspects or fears, will sooner or later lead to war. Armaments and aggressive imperialistic policies hold the same relation to each other as barometers and the density of the atmosphere. The standing of the one is a sure index to the character of the other. Thus Germany, in 1914, had a great army and a growing navy—and she was expanding her colonial empire, building her Bagdad railroad, and competing with England for the control of world markets. Today, with her colonies lost, her Bagdad dreams dissolved, and her economic destiny turned to inward development along peaceful channels, she needs no navy, and is quite content with an armed militia. France in 1914 had enormous armed forces on land and sea—and was seeking *revanche* in Alsace-Lorraine, conspiring with Russia to bring Germany into a destructive conflict, and fostering an empire second only to Britain's. Today she is engaged in the same nefarious business in other fields of operation, and of course needs larger armaments than ever. Great Britain goes to Geneva to talk disarmament, and promptly urges her claims to a vast extension of her force of cruisers upon the seven seas. "What are the Britsh sea lords going to do with all the ships they are asking for?" pertinently inquires the London *Times.* Defend the British trade routes, say Bridgman and his colleagues. Which is just so much poppy-cock and bunkum! And now America, with her big navy bill, apes the example of her neighbors. Defense is always the plea for ships, and more ships, and still more ships—and armies, and more armies, and still more armies. As a matter of fact, defense has not, and never has had, any remotest connection with questions of armament. Preparedness has always turned, and turns today, on matters of policy that involve the possibility of war with one's neighbors. "If (a nation) intends to pursue the ways of peace," says the Newark *Evening News,* "minding its own business and letting other peoples mind theirs, a reasonable army and navy is all it needs for defense" —or, as we should put it, no army and navy at all!

At the very moment when unemployment is lessening in England, it is increasing with alarming rapidity here in the United States. Reports from England are amazing. The number of men and women out of work is still enormous—1,200,000 at the turn of the year. But this is a decrease of no less than a quarter of a million since December, 1926. The unemployment rate is lower than in any year since 1920, and is not much more today than one-half of what it was in the black year of 1921. This is a vast improvement, coincident with trade revival. In this country the story is different. For some months, now, it has been known that unemployment was increasing. The usual conspiracy of silence, however, kept things quiet. But conditions are at last so bad that the silence is broken. An explosion, as of hidden gas, is shaking the nation. Take New York City, for example! In a recent issue of the New York *Times,* Cornelius N. Bliss appeals for "an increase of at least 10 per cent in donations" to the Association for Improving the Conditions of the Poor, to enable that organization to provide the "heavy additional relief" created by the "amount of unemployment." Lawson Purdy, Director of the Charity Organization Society, states that his organization is now receiving more applications than at any time in the last eleven years, and that its disbursements in December were greater than in any previous December in its history. The Superintendent of the Bowery Mission in New York announces that, for the first time in seven years, he has been obliged to establish a bread line. "About 1,200 men are fed each day." The unemployed, in other words, are with us once again. Nobody will admit it, least of all the advertisers, but every sign indicates that trade is declining, and that a long period of depression is ahead. It would seem as though it might be well to do something about it before it is too late. Governor Smith, with his customary alertness and courage in such matters, has taken some steps. But in all probability business men and politicians will unite in denying that there is any trouble, leaving to churches and charity societies the task of carrying the load, and at last of meeting the flood, of misery.

The big business man is getting his from every quarter these days. As O. Henry might say, toucans and pelicans, not less than snow-birds and sparrows,

have their bills in him. Mr. Rockefeller, on the witness stand of the Senate investigating committee, volunteers the statement that the oil industry in particular and American business in general is at the bar of judgment. He agrees that Colonel Stewart should not get away with a few resentful speeches and some righteous pounding of desks, when he is challenged in the name of the American public to tell what he knows of smutty oil transactions. Mr. Rockefeller controls, directly and indirectly, about fifteen percent of the stock in the company of which Colonel Stewart is the chief executive, and he disapproves utterly of the latter's policy of evasion and silence. We are in the power of big business. We have known it this long time. Big business has known it even longer. Now big business knows that we know it. The big business man is getting the blame for pretty nearly everything which goes wrong in finance, in industry, in politics and government, in education, in art and the drama, and, not least, in religion. Where can he prove an alibi? His high-handed, grasping, domineering methods have invaded every one of these fields. The banker and the industrial manager are his lackeys. The politician is corrupt because big business has learned and paid his price. Culture in every department is commercialized, and art is commonly employed not to exalt its creators but to gratify the personal vanity of its opulent patrons. One or both of two things big business must do: it must surrender its autocratic power over the social and cultural life of the people, or it must cultivate ideals and adopt practices which demonstrate that it has emerged from the jungle stage of evolution. Perhaps its despotism may be retained for a time, if it will cultivate a degree of benevolence. But a democratic society cannot always tolerate even a benevolent despotism. In the end, therefore, big business must seize both horns of its present dilemma.

A pleasant time was had by all in Boston recently. The occasion was the annual dinner of the Dartmouth College Alumni Association, at the Copley-Plaza Hotel. Six hundred stalwart graduates, men of light and leading, gathered about the festive board, at the head of which, as guest of honor, sat Judge Webster Thayer, of the class of 1878. We have heard of Judge Thayer, the world has heard of him, Dartmouth has heard of him. Sacco and Vanzetti also heard of him, and from him, before they died! That there might be no danger of anybody's forgetting him, the alumni acclaimed this "upright judge" at their annual banquet. Referring to the honored guest, the President of the Association declared that Judge Thayer was "one man who has stood up in the service of right." In recognition of this "service," the President asked all his hearers themselves to stand up not for right but for the Judge. Then, says the Boston *Herald* report, "the entire body jumped to its feet and gave vociferous cheers and hand applause, concluding with a vigorous Wah Hoo Wah, the traditional Dartmouth cheer." Well, this is a free country! If Judge Thayer is the kind of graduate that Dartmouth is proud of, then that's the kind of graduate of which Dartmouth is proud. Let the graduates shout and applaud and "Wah Hoo Wah" as much as they please. But meanwhile facts remain, and posterity is going to read those facts. Banquets may come and banquets may go, but facts go on forever. And speaking of banquets, we recall a certain happy feast in Shakespeare which was spoiled for the chief hero by "Banquo's ghost." Were Judge Thayer half as sensitive even as Macbeth, he would have seen not one ghost but two at his feast, and been driven mad at the sight.

Justice Proshauer, of the Appellate Division of the New York Supreme Court, would have all lawyers take a "Hippocratic" oath similar to that which binds all physicians. He offers a form, amid the applause of highly-placed leaders of the bar, the sneers of "hard-boiled" members of his profession, the doubts of an incredulous public. The demand for the raising of professional ideals is being pressed all along the line. Is this the sufficient aim? Is our social salvation to be ushered in when doctors take the Hippocratic oath, when politicians subscribe to the "Constitution," when lawyers devise a formula of decency, when business men solemnly swear that they will be gentlemen, when teachers profess to pursue the truth, when clergymen resolve to hearken to the "Holy Spirit" of ethical adventure? We cannot stifle our faith in unspoiled human nature to the point of believing either that such devices will be finally effective or that they are necessary. The fundamental aims of the legal profession need overhauling, not its manners and its institutional devices. Business men will not be brigands when the economic program under which they operate does not force them into brigandage; a gentlemen brigand is a brigand still. Our whole economic scheme is set up and operated to make us selfish and grasping and reckless of the rights and goods of everybody else. It is ridiculous to go on seeking to cultivate the graces of character against the canons of business and professional practice. When we organize our economic and social program in a manner to cultivate character rather than to break it down, nobility will be the rule and venality so rare an exception as to be only a problem in psychiatry. Our problem, in other words, is social reform, not individual redemption. Human nature needs not a change but a chance.

Let's see, now. "Where are we at?" If the Romanists will abandon their doctrine of the supremacy of the Pope of Rome, the Anglicans will agree to join them. Then, if the clergy of liturgical churches who have not been "ordained" in the Apostolic Succes-

sion will submit to the laying on of hands by the true shepherds of the combined Roman and Anglican priesthood, they and their flocks will be admitted to the true fold. Again, if the so-called free churches will abandon their freedom in worship, observe the ritual, and accept the ministrations only of the apostolically succeeded, they, too, will be admitted to the growing combination. Finally, if the so-called liberal churches will abandon their claims to theological independence, and will dutifully subscribe to the "historic" creed as the only proper rule of faith and practice, the combination will be complete. Whew! This is "church union," fast and furious. Bishop Manning's optimism is appealing, not to say appalling. All that is necessary now is to brush aside these inconsequential "ifs," and the next Lausanne Conference need only ratify the unanimous compact, sing the long-metre doxology, and go home. Still, a lingering disturbance in our spiritual midst which our critics may attribute to a chronic disorder, restrains any confident setting of the date for the next session of "the Council on Faith and Order," at Lausanne or anywhere else. The Bishop's optimism may not hold out; a hitch in the program may discourage even him. Furthermore, we are so beholden of spiritual loyalty to the fifty percent in the community, more or less, who will have naught of ecclesiasticism in their religion, diluted or pure, in sect or in mass, that our enthusiasm for "church union" is still further dampened. We wonder what this scheme of Bishop Manning and Dr. Cadman and the Archbishop of Canterbury will come to, even though one might stretch one's imagination beyond the limits of credulity to vision its achievement. By the time of that event the already surging revolt against ecclesiasticism of any and all sorts will have gained such volume throughout religious circles in all progressive populations that the largest conceivable ecclesiastical combination will not rise above the surface of the common religious consciousness. UNITY is seeking a unity of a different genus and genius.

The American Presidency

A few weeks ago the body of the late President Warren Gamaliel Harding was removed from its temporary resting place to the $500,000 mausoleum erected by public subscription at Marion, Ohio. The event was scarcely noticed in the newspapers. No report was published of anything said or done. An "A. P." dispatch simply announced in a few sentences that the transfer of the presidential remains had been made.

It would seem, from this significant little episode, that the truth about Mr. Harding had at last found its way into the popular mind. The two decisions of the United States Supreme Court gave a clear revelation of his public life. Nan Britton's book, "The President's Daughter," little noticed in the press but widely read by the people, disclosed the nature of his private life. Col. Forbes's recent article in the New York *World* and St. Louis *Post Dispatch* united the public and private aspects of the Harding career in one inimitable picture. That such a man should have been elected to the highest office in the land by the greatest majority in the nation's history is enough at last to make anybody sick. What wonder that we want to forget about him! His body is well buried without flags or blare of trumpets.

But forgetting is not enough in a case like this. On the contrary, is it not time for us to remind ourselves definitely and solemnly of the kind of men we elect to the presidency in this republic? Certainly the list of American presidents is a parody on greatness. It contains some great names—mostly those of men chosen in the early days when the electoral system was working as it was intended to work for the selection of men best fitted to lead the state. Apart from these, however, no single outstanding man, with the possible exception of Andrew Jackson, has won the presidential office except by accident. Abraham Lincoln was a minority president, chosen because the dominant Democratic Party of 1860 was split between the northern wing led by Douglas and the southern wing led by Breckenridge. Theodore Roosevelt came to the White House as a result of the assassination of President McKinley. Woodrow Wilson, like Lincoln, was heir to the good fortune of a divided opposition. The typical men, typically elected to the presidency, have been men like William Henry Harrison, James K. Polk, Franklin Pierce, James Buchanan, Rutherford B. Hayes, Benjamin Harrison, William McKinley and Warren G. Harding. What a list of nobodies! Yet these, and not the Lincolns and the Roosevelts, or even the Grover Clevelands, are the natural product of our American politics.

To say that right here is one of the prime weaknesses of our government, is to say nothing new. But it is to say something well worth saying all the same. For two reasons!

First, we stand at the threshold of the presidential campaign of 1928, and the little men are buzzing all around. Distinguished men, of full-sized national reputation, are not lacking—are even being mentioned —are steadily winning popular favor. But the stage is being set, by the politicians in both parties, for a repetition of that smoky Chicago hotel bedroom scene which produced the immortal Harding. There is no

surety, in other words, that the ablest man available will be nominated either by the Republicans or the Democrats. On the contrary, the surety is all the other way. Else why, for example, are men like William E. Borah and Newton D. Baker conspicuous by being so inconspicuous in the race for the nominations?

Secondly, and much more serious, the American presidency is now one of the greatest and most potent offices in the modern world. Three generations, even two generations ago, American held little place in international affairs. She was growing mightily, but in actual reality was less important than is Brazil today. But all this is now changed. The United States, in spite of its continuing policy of isolation, is not only one of the great powers of the world, but is in many ways the one great power of the age. World leadership, in other words, has pretty definitely been shifted since the Great War from the British to the American Empire. Commensurate with this transformation is the transformation of the presidential office itself. Steadily through the years, for reasons many and varied, this office has been taking on power. In the old days, the traditional "balance of power" was maintained. House, Senate, Supreme Court, all had their place of equal and coordinate authority. Today, the "balance" is upset. The president has over-ridden the others. More truly than of the former Kaiser Wilhelm it can be said that the president, in the American scheme of things, is the "all-highest." Now, putting these two facts together—the position of the United States in world affairs, and the position of the president in United States affairs—we catch a glimpse of what it means to place a small man in so vast an office. A Franklin Pierce yesterday was a matter of regret, but not of very serious concern; a Warren G. Harding today is a matter of momentous consequence not merely to ourselves but to all mankind.

In no other country in the world, we believe, is such a situation as this possible. The English prime ministers, for two centuries now, have been the actual as well as the official leaders of the Empire; their names constitute, with few exceptions, England's greatest men. The French premiers are the pick of the chosen men of the republic. Even the new Russia and the new Mexico are beginning with the big men in the seats of power. Only in the United States are puppets placed in the presidential chair, with the real power in other hands doing its fell work behind the scenes. This has for years been a ridiculous fact; it is now become a dangerous fact. It may easily wreck our democracy and seriously damage the world before we are done with our folly.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

Jottings

Watch out for the 50th Anniversary Number of UNITY, due on March 5th. Special articles, poems, messages of congratulations, announcements, illustrations, etc., etc. This will be the greatest number in UNITY's history. Watch out for it!

As our half-century anniversary approaches, we find ourselves feeling amazingly and delightfully benevolent. We even find it possible to think of Secretary of the Navy Wilbur and his admirals without getting excited. We fear that anniversaries are demoralizing.

Emil Ludwig has discovered the four greatest living Americans—EDISON, WRIGHT, ROCKEFELLER, and JANE ADDAMS. He says that he is now looking for the fifth. *Looking for the fifth?* Can we believe our ears? And he has been to Washington, too, and has seen the White House!

Speaking seriously of this problem of the fifth greatest American, what about JOHN DEWEY? He is universally conceded to be our most distinguished educationalist and philosopher. No name in this country is known more widely or honored more highly by people who count. We nominate for Ludwig's consideration—JOHN DEWEY.

"Honest and true," now, "black and blue," was there every anything quite so funny as the plea that America is in Nicaragua at this time to guarantee honest elections? If this plea for intervention were sound, America would have been an occupied province from the days of Jackson at least to the days of McKinley. And today both Pennsylvania and Illinois, to say nothing of certain other states, would be garrisoned with foreign marines.

When America and Germany talked together by long-distance telephone, they had to do it by the permission and with the help of London. That's interesting, both ways!

J. H. H.

American Notes

[Editorial Correspondence]

The situation as to the unemployed, in New York and throughout the land, is serious. Along the Bowery I found long bread lines—the longest since 1916, some of them a block long. The Missions and Salvation Army all gave the same report. Before Hadley Mission was a line, four abreast, a block long. It is computed that at this time there are 5,000 jobless derelict men roaming around the region of the Bowery. The state department of labor states that while in December, 1926, there were 134 workers for each 100 jobs open, in December, 1927, the ratio of workers had increased to 175, and in January, 1928, the ratio was 215 workers for each 100 jobs. Governor Smith is seeking to meet the situation by a swift survey of the facts, and then to provide public works. No one would care to predict whether the unemployment will increase—too many factors being involved, among these, of course, being the crops, and even the presidential election. It is not encouraging to walk along such a thoroughfare as the Bowery, and stop at the "Tub" where "Mr. Zero" is serving 2,000 meals a day for a nickel apiece—coffee, bread and soup. America probably will be called upon during the next few years to give serious attention to the unemployed.

Dr. Maclaren, Headmaster of Hearns School, Renfrewshire, Scotland, has just come to America, to spend six months studying in a score of cities our educational system, especially the treatment of the backward child. By the backward child, he means the child of normal ability who fails for one reason or other to keep abreast with his fellow-pupils. On his coming he states that America is a pioneer in this study. He is not certain whether this is due to greater financial resources, or to greater progressiveness; this he hopes to discover. He is sure that the old rigid system of classifying pupils is not to the advantage of the child.

Of course, Americans are pleased over the testimony of men like Dr. Maclaren. What he will say in August when he sails home can not be predicted. Other observers are not so complimentary. One gentlemen, of European fame, who is wise enough to lecture on Asia, remarked that Americans were very superficial. He also said that wherever he was entertained, he was offered cocktails, which are hard on the constitution. The fact is, America is very big, and one can get nearly everything he bores for—oil, wine, gold, shale, sand. Probably both Dr. Maclaren and the learned lecturer on Asia were right. A talented French writer, Andre Maurois, praises "American equality" as being of a superior brand. He particularizes by saying:

> Nothing so resembles the American bricklayer arriving in his automobile in front of a building under construction as the American professor leaving his car in front of a university lecture hall. Servants are rare in America, their work being accomplished by mechanical perfections, and life for the worker is very much the same as for the rich bourgeois. A poor university student can wait upon his comrades at table and do scullery work and thus make his way through college and experience no shame. Sons of wealthy men often seek employment during college vacations, doing the work of shop clerks, plumbers or lumbermen or in the crews of transatlantic liners. Thus, a carpenter's son does not hate a millionaire, because he thinks that tomorrow he himself may be managing a millionaire's affairs. Whence arises a condition of great moral and political health for the country.

The American (continues M. Maurois), however, does not know how to rest. He can learn from the European how to use his leisure.

Then along comes Philip Gibbs to say that because America is so highly organized and volatile, to the point that over night a passion of pity or hate could sweep the country and rouse it to action, "it is the most dangerous nation in the world." "I do think," he goes on to say, that "America is money mad. I find that Americans are inspired by the romance of the struggle of great business enterprise and are faithful to the facts of success. I think you will find Americans the most idealistic people on earth." And then, like a true Englishman, he proceeds to box the ears of his own countrymen, and tells them to get a move on them.

In the background of American life are many elements, not promising. The news comes today from the nation's capital that the Ku Klux Klans are planning to put up national headquarters within a block of the Cathedral of the Roman Catholic Church. This bodes trouble. Many of the most thoughtful citizens are disturbed by the presence of the marines in Nicaragua and China. The flow of millions of dollars—by the sheer force of financial gravitation into the lands of Central and South America and Australia is sure to bring with it added responsibility, for the fear that America will lose her heart and head. Public opinion is certainly getting to be more intelligent and awake. It seems to be admitted that the big naval program was well checked by the roar of protest that has gone up from the churches and clubs. The eyes of the people are turning more and more to conditions in Mexico and Nicaragua—and imperialism will have a hard fight to carry away the spoils of exploitation. The people have not talked freely since the war. The coming election promises to loosen up their tongues, all of which will be to the good of liberty and justice.

Undoubtedly, the most serious element in American life is the average attitude of white people toward the colored races. The attitude that was created by slavery, in the South, has not gone. What is sinister is the fact that the Southern attitude is in some particulars vanquishing the traditional Northern attitude. This was brought out clearly last Sunday night, in the Open Forum held in Community Church, when Mordecai Johnson, a Negro, president of Howard University, Washington, D. C., spoke on "The Negro and American Religion." In the first place, he is a man of high intelligence and rare literary and oratorical ability. And there are many such among the Negroes of America. It was to be noted that he spoke very tenderly of "our" country. The Negro's loyalty has never been questioned. The great test, he affirmed, of the church and of the country—both internally and in their relation with other nations—is the attitude of the white man to the races of color. Southern Christianity collapsed because the Southern white man forced upon the black man a "religion of the balcony." Since the Civil War, when the Negro was made free, as a chattel, the attitude of the Southern Church has changed little, but what is sinister, the attitude of the Northern church has nearly collapsed

under the pressure of the South. In no theological seminaries, for example, is the Negro really wanted as a student. There are only 60 Negroes studying for the ministry, in all the seminaries. Churches, North and South, send out white missionaries to Africa, that will not admit an African to become a member of their own body! This signifies a collapse of Christianity, urged President Johnson. The Negro has not had his rights, except during the war.

The assumption of an attitude of Nordic superiority toward the Negro, and other colored races, constitutes a great menace, in America, and in America's relations with other nations. Dr. Johnson has doubtless put his finger on the spot where America, and American Christianity, will receive their severest testing. Men like him are a source of great hope for the future, for their plain talking and wise leadership.

Tally one for religion! It has been found, in going over the records of Yale and Harvard, the universities de luxe in American life, that the most successful students and graduates are the sons of missionaries, with the professors a close second, and the children of ministers ranking third. The children of business men are close to the bottom. These facts were brought out by Dr. Ellsworth Huntington, a research director, at a dinner of the American Eugenics Society. He claimed that it was due to the fact that these classes possessed above the average health, a spirit of adventure, energy, religion and moral fervor. It seems to be a case of the survival of those who practice "high thinking and plain living."

SYDNEY STRONG.

The Passing of the Old-Time Preacher

However painful a subject it is to those who remain of the old-time preachers it is nonetheless true that their species is dying out. Those who are not dead, or at least not buried, regard the conditions which are so unfavorable to them as signs of the approaching end of the world. Their comfort lies in the hope that the end will not be delayed and that wrath will be heaped upon the ungodly. Some who are not so extreme as this are yet hopelessly out of place for they think the world is getting worse and worse. Their thinking seems to be set beyond the chance of recovery. They live and move and have their being in a realm that is past and will never return.

They talk much about sin but unfortunately they cannot see what is really wrong with the people and conditions of today. Most of them still believe that the human heart is naturally corrupt. One great trouble with them is that they are thinking of the human heart instead of human hearts. With them it is the same as with many other crusaders against something or somebody: that is, the great evil is in an abstract something or somebody. Drunkards and prostitutes and various other kinds of wrongdoers are very bad in the abstract, but whoever became well acquainted with any individual drunkard or prostitute or any other kind of sinner but felt that they were better than they were bad? The oldtime preacher is doomed because he does not know what he is talking about when he speaks of sin. He is declaiming against sin when right in his audience are people who are guilty in ways that he does not perceive. He is coddling them and fighting an imaginary sinner. He is preaching about sin and is himself unable to talk sensibly to a person with the simplest spiritual ailment.

One great trouble with this type of preacher is the way he handles his textbook, the Bible. He exalts it to the skies as the infallible word of God containing all that man needs for his spiritual guidance. He is utterly oblivious to its defects and therefore cannot use its strong points effectively. He talks of the beautiful stories of the Old Testament but finds that the young people are not so enthusiastic as he is. He would "horrify" immediately if he knew that when they chance to read it some are more interested in the fact that Abraham drove out one of his wives because his best beloved was jealous, or that Judah was seduced by his daughter-in-law, or that Lot's daughters inveigled him into a remarkable breach of our moral standards, or that David had a liaison with Bathsheba, or that Solomon had seven hundred wives and three hundred concubines than in any beautiful stories therein.

Again, his idea of God has not been affected by common sense. He still thinks that God will do anything for the one who can sustain an imaginary faith up to the required point. Also he believes that his hens will lay if he gives a tithe of his income to the Lord. His conception of God's dealings with man is determined by the archaic notions of the ancient Hebrews on this matter. One would think that a few more Mississippi floods and other calamities would forever dispel from his mind the notion that God protects "his own." Always there is in his mind the thought that God is separate from the world and rather hostile to it. This preacher is trying to get people reconciled to God lest He dump them into eternal darkness or something worse.

This kind of preacher is heart broken about the way people are neglecting the church. To him the church is an end in itself, God-ordained and sacred. He cannot see that from time to time the church runs to seed and loses its freshness and value. He would have the working people add another day of tedium to their week by coming out to hear him preach on some subject that would not interest anyone but those whose brains are afflicted with dry rot. Consequently he spends a large part of his time telling those who are docile enough to follow him that the world is going to the devil. He cannot see that the times have brought upon him a new demand and that he cannot hope to interest people in what was the vogue in religion ages ago.

He has not gotten over thinking of this life chiefly in relation to another beyond the grave. Heaven still occupies considerable place in his preaching, while most of the people are either so interested in the joys of this life and its opportunities for service that the next is forgotten, or else they are so pressed with the necessities of this life that they scorn the soporific of heavenly hopes. Since the people have long since outgrown the superstition that oppression is the will of God they rebel against the unfairness and injustice perpetrated

upon them and are fighting it instead of submitting in the name of religion. One might as well make a promissory note payable in the next century as talk to them about heaven. And yet that is what these preachers do.

One thing the old-time preacher has a reputation for is being "against" nearly everything. It may be evolution, dancing, Sunday movies, birth control, companionate marriage, or thousands of other things, but he is expected to be against. If there is some community effort in which he has a voice, and that effort involves something slightly contrary to church practices, he is approached gingerly because he may be "against" it. Such a reputation has he brought upon the ministry that when a preacher is somehow favored with an audience of men he begins by trying to prove that he is a man and not some ethereal being. How often have we heard preachers tell the rotary club that preachers have the same faults as other men! As if it could be otherwise!

This out-of-date preacher clings to a false "good-bad" antithesis. This nonsense has come about largely through his type of preaching though he is unaware of that fact. He cannot seem to understand that what he denounces so bravely as "sins of the flesh" are but normal expressions of life which have not been wisely directed. Instead of berating them and creating a false sense of sin in those who yield to natural inclinations why does he not approach the matter sensibly and lead human desires into healthy and normal channels? Why not? Because he does not know what "normal" means, and probably never will know. Maybe the world will find its way undirected to healthy living, but it will never surrender to the dictates of hide-bound preachers in the future. The truth is the preachers of that kind are guided by traditions which are often without a glimmer of scientific basis.

The sacrificial spirit of these preachers would be inspiring if it were not so tragic. They labor for starvation wages in some little denominational mission station already sadly overcrowded with churches, and think they are doing the will of God. Evidently they feel that God is more interested in keeping alive some sectarian group than in blessing the community! To them God's people are identified with the church and those outside are in a very dubious condition indeed. In brief, the church, doctrines, professions, and so on are the important matters, and life is nothing. They are just as bad as the Pharisees against whom they preach from time to time. The pity of it all is that they are caught in a trap and with blinded eyes cannot see where they are. And religion gets a bad name because of their attempts at goodness.

What do they need? Conversion? Education? It is hard to answer. These words already have meanings in their minds which perhaps cannot be changed. One wishes that such preachers might meet up with a modern nerve specialist who is healing people instead of merely trying to cure diseases, and get from him a balanced idea of life. But the chances are they would call the doctor a reprobate and go on preaching self-renunciation as the purpose of living.

FRANK S. HARWOOD.

Gandhi and Tolstoy

In an open letter to Mahatma Gandhi, Saklatvala, the Indian Communist, blamed him for his present inaction and for his failure to lead the country at the most critical period of its history. According to Saklatvala—I do not quote Saklatvala, but give his idea as I have understood it—all great leaders have three tasks to fulfill, and Mahatmaji has done but one. He has roused the consciousness of the masses of India; he has voiced their aspirations for a new system of things; but he has neither been able to destroy the old, nor build up the new. And this is what all the great leaders of the twentieth century have done, such as Lenin in Russia, Mustapha Kemal in Turkey, De Valera in Ireland, Sunyat Sen in China, and Signor Mussolini, in his own way, in Italy.

In my humble opinion, to expect Mahatmaji to fulfill tasks such as other leaders set for themselves is to do injustice to him and to the cause he represents. You cannot expect thistles to grow from the fig tree. Similarly, you cannot expect Mahatmaji to act like a mere politician, to whom the end often justifies the means, and who will stop short of nothing base, nay, not even violence, to secure freedom from human tyranny. The leaders with whom Saklatvala compares Mahatmaji have all had, more or less, to dip their swords in human blood, but Mahatmaji's creed is the creed of non-violence. Those maneuvering tactics of diplomacy which enable the world's politicians to score their highest triumphs, are not in Mahatmaji's line. His has been the triumph not of policy, but of truth and honesty. Here lies the fundamental difference between Mahatmaji and the successful politicians of the world. They can sacrifice truth on the altar of their country's liberty, but Mahatmaji is prepared to sacrifice even his country's liberty, if need be, on the altar of truth. They can preach the gospel of hatred toward the enemy, but Mahatmaji will conquer him by means of love. It is not the fault of the prophet that he is not able to act like the politician.

It is not my purpose here to reply to Saklatvala's criticism of Gandhi, but only to point out that his real place is not amongst the politicians, but amongst the great prophets of the world. With Lenin and the Communists Mahatmaji has no sympathy; he can have none. He is nearer to Tolstoy than to Lenin. He is the prophet of Young India in the same sense in which Tolstoy was the prophet of Young Russia, and Sabarmati has become the Yasnaya Polyana of the East.

Perhaps there is none among the ancients or moderns to whom Gandhi has greater affinity of mind and spirit than Count Leo Tolstoy. Outwardly, Gandhi may seem in many respects to differ from Tolstoy—the small weak man, with a clean shaven chin and tranquil brown eyes bespeaking love, by the side of a robust strong man with flowing beard, shaggy eyebrows and eyes that seem to speak of a certain haughty disdain of everything contemptible and base. There is an expression of sternness in Tolstoy's face, as there is one of infinite tenderness in Gandhi's. And, yet, be-

neath this superficial difference of physical appearance, there lies a deep affinity of soul which made the younger feel as irresistibly drawn to the elder, as iron to the magnet. To a question, which was once put to Mahatmaji, "In what relations do you stand with Count Tolstoy?" his answer was, as given in *Young India,* "My relation to Tolstoy is that of a devout admirer who owes him much in life," and indeed, in the whole range of Gandhiji's studies, none influenced him more than Tolstoy. His "Hind Swaraj" contains, at the end, a list of six works of Tolstoy which he counsels everyone to read. Gandhi's imagination seized upon Tolstoy with the same avidity with which Tolstoy's seized upon Rousseau. "I read the whole of Rousseau, I was more than enthusiastic about him. I worshipped him . . . Many of his pages are so akin to me that it seems to me I must have written them myself"—so says Tolstoy in his Diary, and Gandhi might speak of Tolstoy with almost the same rapture. A comparison of the lists of the favorite books of these two great men reveal a further point of similarity. Both held the New Testament as very dear to their hearts, and both were deeply fond of Plato, one of whose works, viz. the "Trial and Death of Socrates," was translated by Gandhiji himself.

Apart from this similarity in intellectual pursuits, we find also a close resemblance in the nature of the early influences which operated in their lives and determined their future career and character. Though Tolstoy lost his mother at an early age, he tells us how deep was the influence she exercised upon him. "She appeared to me as a creature so elevated, pure and spiritual, that often in the middle period of my life, during my struggles with overwhelming temptations, I prayed to her soul, begging her to aid me and such prayer always helped me much." From the autobiography of Mahatma Gandhi, we know how his mother exercised upon him an influence strikingly similar, an influence which enabled him to overcome the three great temptations that beset the path of the young student in London, viz. wine, woman and meat—things which his mother, before he left the Indian shores, had solemnly asked him to abjure. The family in the midst of which Tolstoy grew up was of the same aristocratic and orthodox type as that of Gandhi, and yet, when the time came for it, both were ready to demonstrate to the world that the true soul of man must rise above his cramping environments, and fling orthodoxy and established tradition to the winds for the sake of justice and truth. An intense ardour and zeal in the pursuit of truth, a zeal comparable to that with which the lover woos his mistress, characterizes both from the very beginning of their lives. In Aylmer Maude's "Life of Tolstoy," we are told how, at the age of five, Tolstoy's imagination was fired by his elder brother telling him of a green stick buried at the edge of a ravine, on which was written the secret which would make all men happy and enable them to live in loving harmony with one another, free from pain and sorrow. To the discovery of that magic message was devoted nearly the whole of Tolstoy's life. From what we know of Gandhi, it is quite possible to believe that he was also actuated in his search for truth by a faith in such a universal message of hope and peace, which it was his business to discover for mankind, and having discovered it, to proclaim, if necessary, from the housetops. In the case of Mahatmaji, and in that of Tolstoy, the consciouness of a divine mission to fulfil on earth must have been the stimulus to every honest and serious effort on their part, must have cheered their lonely hours, and braced them up even in the midst of the seeming failures of their lives. With such consciousness it is not possible for one to live the gay, thoughtless life of a butterfly which most of us live. It was not possible for Tolstoy; it was not possible for Gandhi—for both cared about things a hundred times more than other people care about them. As Maude puts it, "What was admirable was not that he (Tolstoy) *acted well* (as a matter of fact, he often acted very badly), but that he intensely *wished to act well.*" The same may be spoken of Gandhi, whose desire to act well from the very beginning of his life is beyond cavil, or dispute.

Amongst all the prophets and thinkers of the world, I can hardly think of two persons more sincere than Gandhi and Tolstoy. All their utterances are the convictions of their hearts, deep and honest confessions of men given to self-analysis, and self-correction. In a letter written by Tolstoy to a friend on 13th July, 1879, there is a characteristic passage which seems to me, to reveal, as by a flashlight, the innermost nature of the man. "I am always," says Tolstoy, "self-tormenting, troubled, correcting myself and learning . . . and I cannot refrain from turning myself inside out." As a description of Gandhiji's nature and temperament nothing can be truer than this, for he is also "self-tormenting," "correcting himself and learning" and constantly "turning himself inside out." Think of the agony of sleepless nights the Messiah of rejuvenated India passes, bringing every deed of his and of his followers before the searching scrutiny of his own conscience. Think of the periodic fast and penance he undergoes for cleansing himself and his followers of all baseness and violence! "I must undergo personal cleaning, I must become a fitter instrument, able to register the slightest variation in the moral atmosphere about me. My prayers must have deeper truth and humility about them than they evidence." (*Young India* 16-2-22.) Like Tolstoy, Gandhi is his own severest critic. He "confesses his errors," "retraces his steps," "humbles himself before God and man," every time his movement tends towards violence. "For, confession of error," he says, "is like a broom that sweeps away dirt. I feel stronger for my confession. And the cause must prosper for the retracing." Both Gandhi and Tolstoy are great not because they are free from error, which not even the greatest are, but because they have the frankness and courage to confess their errors. The public confession of Gandhi which followed what he called "the crime of Chauri Chaura"—of which much capital was made by his enemies—did, in my opinion, much more to raise him in the world's estimation than anything he had done before. "Let the opponents," said he, on that memorable occasion, "glory in our humiliation or so-called defeat. It is better to be charged with cowardice and weakness than to be guilty of the denial of our oath and sin against

God." I remember a well known Christian professor of a Christian college, who had never been tired of hurling abusive epithets at Gandhi, such as "arch-agitator," or "arch-enemy," revising his opinion of Mahatmaji after his grand confession and calling him the Thirteenth Apostle. And, indeed, there was something in it of the agony of Christ which Mahatmaji had to undergo, which made its appeal to all devout Christians all the world over.

What is admirable in Gandhi and Tolstoy is not that they were perfect, but that being deeply conscious of their imperfections, they were incessantly striving after perfection, after absolute purity in thought, word and deed. In the midst of their mortification and sorrow, the first voice that rises is the voice of hope and faith in God, and in His mercy that will enable them to tide over their earthly limitations. "I wear the same corruptible flesh that the weakest of my fellow-beings wear and am therefore as liable to err as any. My services have many limitations, but God has up to now blessed them in spite of imperfections"—so said Gandhiji in all humility, yet without the least bitterness or resentment against God or man. Almost the same note of hope and faith, not unmingled with a sense of earthly limitations, is struck in the following passage quoted from Tolstoy's Dairy, though one misses here the spirit of Gandhian humility:

> There are worldly people, heavy and wingless. Their sphere is down below. There are among them strong ones: Napoleon. They leave terrible traces among men, and cause an uproar, but it is all on the earth. There are those whose wings grow equably and who slowly rise and fly: monks. There are light people, winged, who rise easily from among the crowd and descend: good idealists. There are strong-winged ones who, drawn by carnal desires, descend among the crowd and break their wings. Such am I. Then they struggle with broken wings, flutter strongly, and fall. If my wings heal, I will fly high. God grant it.

Thrown into the vortex of public life, being compelled to "descend among the crowd," Mahatmaji must have felt likewise.

Such public confessions as those of Gandhi or Tolstoy—(though it may seem paradoxical to say so)—might become the saint, but would hardly become the politician or "public man" of today. For as Chesterton says in his own ironical way, "the essence of being a public man is that you do nearly everything in private": and indeed, as I have said before, neither Gandhi nor Tolstoy is fitted for the politicians' game. Politics is based upon compromise, it considers people as more important than principles, and sometimes, if not always, makes creeds conform to deeds, makes principles bend to the passing passions and caprices of people. But both Gandhi and Tolstoy are uncompromising idealists whose soul is bent on serving truth, and nothing but the truth. "The great sin is to compromise in theory—to lower the ideal of Christ to make it attainable," once Tolstoy wrote in reply to Rev. Adin Ballou's criticism that, under certain circumstances, the use of physical force for resistance of evil was justified,

> and I consider the admission of force (be it even benevolent) over a madman to be such a theoretical compromise. In not admitting this compromise I run the risk only of my death, or the death of other men, who may be killed by the madman. And death in fulfilling the will of God is a blessing. But if I admit the compromise, I run the risk of acting quite contrary to the law of God—which is worse than death.

Compare with this what Gandhiji said in his famous article on the Crime of Chauri Chaura—"I would at any rate, suffer every humiliation, every torture, absolute ostracism and death itself to prevent the movement from becoming violent, or a precursor of violence." If men are unable to follow the doctrine of non-violence in practice, so much the worse for them, they are unfit for Swaraj, and must wait for years and years preparing themselves for the proper non-violent attitude. Yet Gandhiji would not swerve an inch from his ideal! The only "tyrant" Gandhiji would accept in this world is "the still small voice within," and even though he has "the prospect of a minority of one," he humbly believes he has "the courage to be in such a hopeless minority." That to him is the only truthful position.

With such a frame of mind, perhaps it is not possible to be a successful public leader. Gandhiji's conception of duty, like that of Tolstoy, is too individualistic to allow him to regard anything but his duty to his God and to his conscience. Like Tolstoy, Gandhiji often acts as if matters lay solely between himself and his God, "considering actions simply as they are in themselves," and without taking into account "their natural and probable effect upon minds other than his own." Perhaps, herein lies the cause of Gandhiji's failure as a politician, if failure it might be called. The real clue to Gandhiji's failure as well as to that of Tolstoy, is to be found in the following words of Gladstone:

> For years and years, well into advanced middle life, I seem to have considered actions simply as they were in themselves, and did not take into account the way in which they would be taken and understood by others. I do not perceive that their natural and probable effect upon minds other than my own formed part of the considerations determining the propriety of each act in itself, and not unfrequently—at any rate in public life—supplied the decisive criterion to determine what ought and what ought not to be done.

Thus, like Tolstoy, Gandhiji has the defect of his virtues. The same narrow dogmatism is in both, the same inability or reluctance to understand the viewpoint of the average man. But even these failings lean to virtue's side, for they spring from nothing less than their unquenchable zeal and passion for truth. Viewed from the social and political standpoint, many of the fondly cherished opinions of Gandhi and Tolstoy on important topics of the day may seem to be unsound and unpracticable, utopian dreams that perhaps will not be realized during the lifetime of this generation or the next. But they have their value for us, in so far as they have disturbed our placid dreams and brought us face to face with tremendous issues of life which we can no longer afford to ignore. They are great ideals, however unattainable, towards which humanity must strive from generation to generation, from age to age.

—*Current Thought.*

—*Animesh Chandra Ray Choudhury.*

Lyric

Loving is living,
Life without end.

Loving is giving,
Come—let us spend.

Loving is peace.
Yes, peace from above.

Loving is all.
Then, come, let us love.

FRANCES RAYE PAINE.

The Study Table

The Russian Famine

We were in Russia in 1922, and came near to the trail of the great famine. The worst of it was over in the summer of that year, but the Red Cross and the Quaker relief units were still on the field, and millions of stricken peasants were being fed. Visits to the Moscow headquarters of the relief organizations were among our most memorable experiences on this journey to the Soviets.

Now, with the famine a chapter of history, there comes to our table this important book,* which tells in detail the dreadful story of the most terrible event of modern times next only to the Great War itself. The tale would be almost unreadable, were it not for the sheer wonder and beauty of what was done by those who came to save the starving in the land of revolution. Sympathy, dauntless courage, superb efficiency were the qualities of the men and women who entered Russia under the sacred sign of the Red Cross, and grappled there with the most terrible disaster of plague and famine that the world had seen since medieval times. Filled as it is with statistics, accounts of business administration, etc., this book yet reads like a saga of heroic adventure.

What interested us most in the record here set down, was the discussion of the causes of the famine in the last chapter of the volume. For years we have heard it said that the Bolsheviki were responsible for this vast calamity. Undoubtedly their mistakes in dealing with the peasants were a complicating factor in the situation, as Lenin himself was among the first to discover. But so also was the Allied blockade a complicating factor, and a much more serious factor than anything done or attempted by the Communists. But in the one case as in the other, the famine in its origin was independent of such circumstances.

> The failure of the rain to fall in 1920 and 1921 cannot be attributed to the madness of Bolshevism, (writes Mr. Fisher) nor to the intervention of Providence to punish the blasphemous Communists for their sins. . . . On the other hand, the causes which made this famine worse than others of recent times were not wholly, or even largely, the result of the blockade of Russia and the interference of the Allies.

At bottom the famine was caused by the same combination of conditions which has produced famines in Russia at almost regular intervals for centuries, aggravated by a war and resulting social collapse with which the Bolsheviki had no more to do than the Socialists of America. The Bolsheviki in 1917 took over a wrecked and ruined country. They held this country together, prevented its relapse into utter savagery, in the face of unparalleled disasters, of which the great famine was only one. The day is coming, be sure of that, when the Bolsheviki will be known as the saviors of a nation already destroyed by the Tsar and his mad government.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

*"The Famine in Soviet Russia," by H. H. Fisher. Published by Macmillan. $5.

A Biography of Heine

Lewis Browne's book† is the life of a man who is all too often forgotten in his poetry. Much complaint has been expressed because the poetry of Heine is hardly touched upon by Mr. Browne in his volume. But the book is entitled "That Man Heine," not "That Poet, Heine." What on earth could Mr. Browne write on Heine the Poet? Heine himself has saved him all the trouble in this regard.

"That Man Heine" is far from being an exhaustive biography. It is sketchy, but has undisturbed sequence. Sketchiness is Mr. Browne's foible, or forte. Which is it? One sees this quality in "Stranger Than Fiction," and also in "This Believing World."

The Heine volume enumerates, among many other episodes, the difficulties besetting Heine as a man, some insurmountable and others not. One difficulty in the particular of his becoming a *Doktor Juris* was surmounted by the stupid and abominable baptismal font of German Lutheranism. Heine, the Jew, in other words, allowed himself to become Heine, the Lutheran Christian! Financial difficulties were surmounted by the sporadic pinched generosity of his uncle. Physical difficulties were surmounted by the sheer unquenchable fire of the spirit and genius of Heine. These years of Heine transcend all description! But the difficulties within Heine's soul were never surmounted. How could it be otherwise?

One critic finds fault with the captions of two chapters—"Exile in Germany," and "Exile in France"—attempting to show that Heine was never an exile, officially. Of course not! It was the soul of the poet which was in exile, which did not "belong," except when it broke loose into the rhythmical cadence of the beloved lyricist, or gave vent to the venom of Voltairian satire. In its entirety this book is a touching story, and is well told.

M. CARL BECK.

†"That Man Heine," by Lewis Browne. Published by Macmillan Company.

A Novel of South Africa

Sarah Millin's novel of South Africa,* "God's Stepchildren," brought her into prominence two years ago. She has followed it with an account of South Africa itself—its background of history and its present day conditions. While a South African, Mrs. Millin views her country dispassionately. She understands the viewpoint of the Englishman, the Boer, and to some extent the native. Her own standard is one of liberality to all races.

"There is nothing in life," she says "so enraging as the offensiveness of the closed mind. It is like a door slammed in the face of the spirit."

With an open mind, therefore, she endeavors to show us conditions in her land. Her picture is a sorry one. It is reminiscent of our own country in the days of its youth, when the aborigines were treated to the "Century of Dishonor," of which Helen Hunt wrote, years ago. But in South Africa the number of natives is so great and the amount of arable land so small, comparatively, that the suffering of the masses of black men exceeds anything the Indians knew.

Mrs. Millin shows the various economic phases through which the country has passed — the pastoral stage, which still prevails in the Transvaal; the discovery of gold and diamonds; the importation of Indians; and the agricultural and commercial conditions at the present time.

The white man exploits the native to the fullest extent, forbids by legislation his entrance into skilled labor, denies him the franchise, and is endeavoring to

*"The South Africans." By Sarah Gertrude Millin. Published by Boni and Liveright, Inc., New York City.

destroy competition in the one employment always open to him—domestic service. If the program presented by the Boers and the Labor Party goes through, the native servant's position economically will be worse than that of a slave. He will not possess economic freedom, and it will be to no one's interest to treat him decently. And yet Mrs. Millin ends by saying that he had better accept what he can get from this government.

The white man hogs it in South Africa. He has the land, the best jobs, and the power. He does not, however, seem to excel in any profession, unless it be that of athlete. He leads a pleasant, out-of-door life in a beautiful climate. He is hospitable and kindly to his own class. If he lives in the Transvaal he is a little more overbearing to the Negro than if he lives in Cape Town.

The aftermath of the Boer War has been a movement for a State independent of Great Britain. The Englishmen in South Africa usually oppose this. The Boers push it vigorously. Unquestionably the native will lose if he can no longer appeal to the English Parliament.

But one should read Mrs. Millin's book to learn the various interests at work in this beautiful land, that was conquered first by the Zulus, and then by the English and Dutch. It is a pleasant book to handle, with copious photographic illustrations.

MARY WHITE OVINGTON.

Correspondence

Louis F. Post

Editor of UNITY:

Louis F. Post died at his home in Washington on January 10. He was 78 years old.

Mr. Post early became interested in the cause of labor. As far back as 1882 he was a candidate for congress on an independent labor ticket. He was a lawyer, was admitted to the bar in 1870, and began practice in New York City.

Mr. Post was one of the three great pioneer advocates of the taxation of unearned incomes (the "Single Tax," improperly so called). Henry George, and the Rev. Dr. Edward McGlynn were the others.

Mr. Post was a public speaker of great power. I first heard him at one of the great meetings of the Anti-Poverty Society, in Cooper Union. This organization attracted wide-spread public attention during the early days of the tax reform agitation.

In 1885, when Henry George was a candidate for mayor in New York City, one of the strongest public speakers supporting him was Louis F. Post. And again when Mr. George was a candidate for a state office in 1886, as the nominee of the United Labor Party, Mr. Post stumped the state in his support.

In the first convention of the United Labor Party, held in Syracuse in 1886 I was one of the delegates. Opposition arose to the socialist delegates who came from New York and other large cities. The socialists wanted socialistic, public ownership planks in the platform. There was a notable debate on the reports of the majority and minority sections of the platform committee. I remember it as one of the most stirring I ever heard. Mr. George, Dr. McGlynn and Mr. Post spoke against the socialist planks and they were defeated. This led to the withdrawal from the convention of the socialists' delegates.

Mr. Post (with the notable assistance of his wife, Mrs. Alice Post) was the editor for several years of *The Public*, a weekly magazine published in Chicago, and later in New York.

When Mr. George was a candidate for secretary of state in 1887, a meeting held in Ithaca, and addressed by Mr. Post, was attended by many Cornell students, and Mr. Post's speech was received with great enthusiasm. The year following, under the auspices of The Cornell Congress, an undergraduate student organization, Mr. Post came to Ithaca and spoke in a debate which the students called a Tariff Tug of War. His opponent was Major Pangborn.

Mr. Post, only a few months ago, brought out a book, entitled, "What Is the Single Tax?" It was published by the Vanguard Press of New York, has had a large circulation, and is rated as one of the most valuable contributions to land tax reform literature.

On my way to the north from St. Petersburg I stopped in Washington a number of times and visited Mr. and Mrs. Post at their cozy and delightfully attractive home at No. 1213 Twelfth street, N. W. It was something of a Mecca for tax-reformers from many parts of the United States. Leaders in the movement, when planning the organization of the Henry George Congress, and the International Congress for the promotion of Land Taxation and Free Trade came and sat at his feet for advice and help.

Mr. and Mrs. Post were delightful conversationalists. Each time I visited them we talked and talked and then talked some more. But I don't remember that we said anything about the stock markets, safe investments, baseball, boxing bouts, the price of gasoline, the movies, cross word puzzles, the radio, or the comparative worth of either Fords or Chevrolets, or bobbed hair.

Somebody said, "Identity of sentiment, differences of opinion, these are the elements of delightful conversation." Mr. Post and I had some differences of opinion as to the name, "Single tax," and as to the best methods of educational work, and other things, but they were not a bit serious for identity of sentiment was ours. And notwithstanding we did not get around to any of the fascinating and important topics listed in the preceding paragraph, we found a lot of things to talk about which seemed interesting and worth while.

CHESTER C. PLATT.

St. Petersburg, Fla.

The Big Navy Program

Editor of UNITY:

I would like to register my opposition to the "big navy" building program coming before congress, by adding my name to a petition of protest. But since I do not belong to any political club, or actively to any church or other organization that is getting up such a petition, I have no means of doing so. I have already written to my senators and representatives, but would like to do more. I feel sure there are other UNITY subscribers who feel the same way. Would it not be possible for UNITY to circulate such a petition among its subscribers, to be sent on to Washington? A petition with many signatures (representing many votes) would be more effective than scattered individual letters.

I would be willing to help towards the expenses of this undertaking to the extent of twenty or twenty-five dollars. I sincerely hope UNITY will consider this suggestion.

ORLIE PELL.

New York City

The League of Nations, Imperialism, and Peace

Editor of UNITY:

What devoted peace-lovers the great powers are! Tolstoy said that the rich would do anything for the poor except get off their backs; and in the same way the governments of the world will do anything for the cause of peace except lay down their arms. Mr. Baldwin, commenting on the pacifist pledge, assures Mr. Ponsonby that "the whole foreign policy of his Majesty's Government has been inspired by one purpose—the maintenance of peace and the prevention of war." But if the army and navy ceased to exist, the League of Nations would collapse.

It seems that the League, as an instrument for the preservation of peace, is dependent upon armed support, and that the Locarno treaties rest on the might of Briton. "The complaint that has been heard in the assembly of the

The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

Unity's Fiftieth Anniversary

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INTERNATIONAL FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

Monthly News Sheet

Belgian-Dutch No-More-War Committee.—At the meetings held on December 1 and 2 in Antwerp and Brussels the "Belgisch-Hollandseh Nooit-Meer-Oorlog Comittee was set up, which aims at the propagation of a peaceful understanding in both countries and the co-operation of anti-militarist organizations. A conference of representatives of all anti-militarist organizations in Holland and Belgium is being planned to be held at Brussels during the first half-year 1928. ("Kerke en Vrede.")

France.—*A war memorial* was to be unveiled in Brittany. The Teachers' Union of the district informed the Prefect that it would take no part in the proceedings unless everything of a "patriotic" nature were rigidly kept out. The Union insisted that for the inscription: "Died for their country" should be substituted "Victims of the Great War." The Prefect was unable to withstand their request. ("Die Menschheit.")

Germany.—*The Epidemic of Trials for Treason.*—A number of enquiries are being conducted with regard to pacifist activities in Germany. The examining magistrate Graske has taken proceedings in connection with the memorandum which Mertens, together with the pacifist Lehmann-Russbull, addressed to the President of the Republic, in which were set out various alleged abuses in the Reichswehr. Preliminary enquiries are also taking place in other cases of "Treason." Numerous proceedings are pending against editors of democratic journals; a case is being brought against the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, and in another case the editor of the *Berliner Tageblatt* is to be tried. A charge of treason is pending against the pacifist General von Schönaich for the same reason. (*"Die Menschheit," No. 46.*)

In Leipzig, the seat of the *Reichsgericht* (Federal Court), a meeting of protest was held "against the wave of treason trials," at which 2,000 were present. On December 5 a large demonstration was held at Wiesbaden to protest against the arrest of Fritz Rottcher, and a protest was also published by the German F. o. R.

Anti-Semitism in the German National Union of Students.—Since September, 1920, the *Deutsche Studentenschaft* (German National Union of Students) has been the officially recognized and the autonomous representative organization of students. Every student who is a German citizen is a member of this body, and his contribution is collected by the State. The German National Union of Students is on a "Greater-German" basis and is moreover controlled by a nationalist majority. In Germany this Union is divided into seven *Kreise* (districts); to these is to be added District 8, which consists of the German students of Danzig, Czecho-Slovakia and Austria. The different branches of this District 8 are not however built up on the citizen basis, as are the branches in Germany, so that any student of Austrian or Czecho-Slovakian nationality whose mother-tongue is German may belong to them, but they have adopted the race principle by which Jews are excluded. In practice this does not however mean that only Jewish students, whose native tongue is German, cannot belong to the German N. U. S., but also those Non-Jews who for political or conscientious reasons cannot share the anti-Semitic attitude of that organization. This is the case in Austria, for instance, with the very powerful Socialist Student Union, the Democrats, and others. For this reason, the German N. U. S. in Austria, however, much it would like to maintain the contrary, is not the true representative of all the Austrian students, but only an extreme nationalist and reactionary group. Nevertheless it enjoys more or less openly the favour of the academic Senates. The Austrian Government is either too weak or simply unwilling to put an end to this intolerable situation. (In 1924 the Minister of Education, Schneider, admitted in Parliament that the so-called *Studentenrecht* (student law) as applied in the technical

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League," declares Mr. Baldwin, "is not that the armaments of Great Britain are excessive or that they menace the peace of the world. It is that these forces are not placed more unreservedly at the disposal of the League for the enforcement of its decrees!"

The prime minister believes that an England unarmed would be "an easy prey to hostile forces." He has no objection to a reduction of armaments provided that it is not carried too far. Prime ministers and presidents vie with one another in praise of the Golden Rule, but how can they enforce it without plenty of TNT and poison gas, without airships and submarines, armies and navies?

Mr. Baldwin regards it as a privilege and a duty for Englishmen to take up arms for their country, and to share in the defense of the world's freedom. "Is it not our inalienable right," he asks, "to govern ourselves, to develop our liberty and our institutions in accordance with our own national ideals, not subject to foreign domination?" The answer to this question is in the affirmative (as they say in Parliament) if it includes in its scope Asia and Africa, India and China; and, let us add, Nicaragua and the Philippines.

The history of imperialism presents too many examples of unprovoked aggression to rule it out, as Mr. Ponsonby does in his brief reply to the Prime Minister's letter, but no doubt the oppression of the weaker nations would be more difficult if the great powers were limited to the exercise of moral suasion. What pacifists ought to see is that behind the competition in armaments, with its fatal results, is an unfair competition in the exploitation of natural resources, and in trade and commerce, that forbids international amity.

Arms are needed to enforce such anti-social devices as export and import taxes, discriminatory shipping regulations, and immigration laws that are inconsistent with the equal rights of human beings. Unless these underlying causes of division and conflict are recognized, and the abuses that spring from privilege are amended, there will be wanting the atmosphere of fair dealing and the sense of national security that are essential to the fulfillment of so drastic a step in the direction of world unity as the voluntary abandonment of armed force.

FRANK W. GARRISON.

Hindhead, Surrey.

An Original Subscriber

Editor of UNITY:

Enclosed please find post office money order for $3.00 in renewal of subscription to UNITY. The list of subscribers beginning with the first number of UNITY (1880) must now be perceptibly dwindling. Mr. Crothers and Mr. Dole among the latest to go Beyond, both of whom I met in early UNITY days in Chicago.

As I have written before, Mr. Jones' sense of the value of UNITY to the world and his sacrifices for it, makes his work very great. FRED K. GILLETTE.

Los Angeles, California.

college of Vienna was illegal, but nothing was done to abolish it.) The Prussian Government however took a stand against it; the Prussian Minister of Education, Dr. Becker, presented an ultimatum to the German N. U. S. under his authority, demanding that they give up their one-sided connection with the anti-Semitic student organizations of Danzig, Austria and Czecho-Slovakia. The University Rector was in future to have a say in the admission of foreign students to the N. U. S. and its financial administration was to be subject to official supervision. (Irregularities had occurred—especially in Austria.) The German Student Unions of the Prussian Universities and University Colleges have recently refused to comply with this new Student Law. As a result, the Minister of Education has withdrawn from them State recognition and support.

In this struggle between Minister and Student there has occurred a deplorable political incident. The Federal Minister of Home Affairs, Herr von Keudell, a German Nationalist, who through his lack of tact has repeatedly entangled the Federal Government in embarrassing situations, sent a telegram of sympathy to the Prussian Student Unions. The Prussian Prime Minister Braun thereupon sent a most sharply-worded protest to the Federal Chancellor and went so far as to threaten the breaking off of relations of the Prussian Government with the Federal Minister for Home Affairs von Keudell. (*F. o. R. corr.*)

Great Britain.—*Armaments.*—In reply to a question in the House of Commons, the Secretary for Air, Mr. Philip Sassoon, stated that Great Britain now has 750 aeroplanes, of which 370 are stationed outside England. The personnel numbers 29,985 men. France possesses over 1,000 aeroplanes, of which 380 are stationed outside the mother country. The First Lord of the Admiralty stated in reply to a further question that £422,280 have already been spent on the construction of the naval base at Singapore. It is estimated that the base will be completed in the year 1937.

Kenya.—*Military Service.*—Compulsory military service is being introduced in the Kenya Colony for all Europeans between the ages of 18 and 50, in spite of the fact that a fourth of the British population of the Colony has signed a petition against this conscription law. The Government has declared that there is no danger of a rising on the part of the natives. (*N. C. P. W. News Bulletin.*)

Norway.—Last month an old Liberal politician, Mr. Aarrestad, for more than a generation the leader of the abstinence movement, for some time member of the government and until recently district governor in the South of Norway, published an article in the Liberal press of the country advocating total disarmament for Norway and urging the government to arrange a plebiscite on this question. His arguments in favor of disarmament are chiefly the changed conditions in the world at large, that the small nations cannot defend themselves against the great powers and that the small nations ought to set the example.

The article has created rather much sensation and a considerable amount of comment. The conservatives are, of course, against any such proposal, the Liberal *leaders* seem to cling to old ideas and also to wish military power to prevent a Labor revolution which would undoubtedly come at the outbreak of another war in Europe. Among the general public there seems to be a good response. (*F. o. R. corr.*)

Russia.—*Armaments.*—The *Dagbladet* publishes the following statement made by Stalin: "Russia will soon be mistress of the air. At the present moment the Red Army possesses 1,521 aeroplanes. In eight months she will have 3,000 machines superior to those of England. To these will be added in six months over 7,000 civil aeroplanes which can be adapted for warfare in case of necessity. The teaching of the rudiments of aviation is begun in the elementary schools in order to encourage the young in flying and to win over the people. 19,588 organizations have been formed, having a total of four million members, which have as their aim the furthering of aviation. In the Ukraine there are 1,662 such organizations, having 360,000 members. The production of poison gas in Russia is sufficient to overcome within two days any enemy attack.

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